1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

immediate success.[9]

671
582 Essentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

> (1) ... The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.
>
> (2) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage ... based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect ...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.
>
> (3) ... The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See editorial comment of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

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593 In propagandizing and implementing the
582 Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriages, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

To help traditionally minded families attain the new Communist-established goal of "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and suffering and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in young people's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage."[12]

12. See especially C.B., 273, pp. 1-3; 236, pp. 4-14; and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 932, p. iv; hereafter cited as SCMP. The same conditions apply to this source as to C.B.

671 Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the
593 Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese
642 society with two utilitarian purposes in view.
582 One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed.

For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices of them. Under the new system, the article points out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and ...the interests of the people should be the highest criterion governing our actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of woman in socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on the state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted

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13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various
642 comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the
593 regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relation-
582 ships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

671 As the Nationalist Government had made
582 no attempt to put into effect the marriage and
593 family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the
369 rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

671 The result was apathy, when not open re-
645 sistance, toward the reorientation of marriage
593 and family practices among the farming popu-
582 lation. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administration Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20]

16. See editorial comment, C.B., 136, pp. 3-4
17. C.B., 273, p. 4.
18. C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.
19. C.B., 273, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 Assuming the population in these areas to be rough-
593 ly equal, these figures would mean that on an
582 over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. For instance, in the spring of 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces, only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the willing consent of the couples concerned.[21] No figures were given on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. A separate press report on the situation in Peking during 1954 noted

21. SCMP,,1002, p. 3.

671 582 583

that only 13 of 30,389 couples applying for marriage registration failed to satisfy the requirements of the Marriage Law.[22] If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 hsien were families reformed up to perfect Communist standards, and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[23]

Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extent or lack of family reform rather than to give a comprehensive picture of it. One report noted that in ten villages of Ts'ang hsien, Hopei, two-thirds of the sixty marriages contracted from January to September 1951 had been arranged by parents.[24] Another press account referred to conditions in Ho-chin hsien in southwestern Shansi where the groom customarily paid a bride-price of one shih-tan (110 lbs) of wheat for every year of the bride's age up to 18.[25] Another news story, citing better conditions in the "old liberated areas,"

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22. Ibid., 1007, p. 30.
23. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 3.
24. C.B., 236, p. 5.
25. Ibid., p. 14.

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mentioned eight ch'ü in as many hsien of Shansi Province where approximately 88 per cent of the 2,047 marriages during 1951 were contracted of free choice.[26] By contrast, another news item reported that in northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 the number of arranged engagements totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[27]

A further study of figures issued by Communist sources indicates that the regime did not have exact knowledge of the situation in many areas. To cite one example, an announcement of the results of the 1952 investigation of Marriage Law implementation included "incomplete statistics" on deaths attributed to the existence of problems and mistreatment connected with the "feudal family" system.

According to these figures, 4,105 women were killed or driven to suicide in the East China Region between January and August 1952; and 356 women and 161 young men suffered the same fate in the Northwest Region during the first half of 1952. In lieu of figures for the Central-South Region, the report mentioned 606 young men and women met violent deaths as a result of marriage

26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
584 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

671 The latest picture of the progress of family
● 582 reform to be released by the Communist regime was contained in the March 1955 report of the
573 Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

D. Reorientation of Family Reform

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582 After March 1953, the Communist approach to marriage and family reform seems to have undergone a change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[32] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to woman was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[33]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many

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32. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.
33. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[34] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships.

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34. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[35]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[36]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love

35. SCMP., 1022, p. 4.
36. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

2: Gamble S-6 (1926-1933)1954 · AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters. 596

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line. 597

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married. 596 582

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records. 596 554

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families. 596 369 166

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) AF12 North China AF12

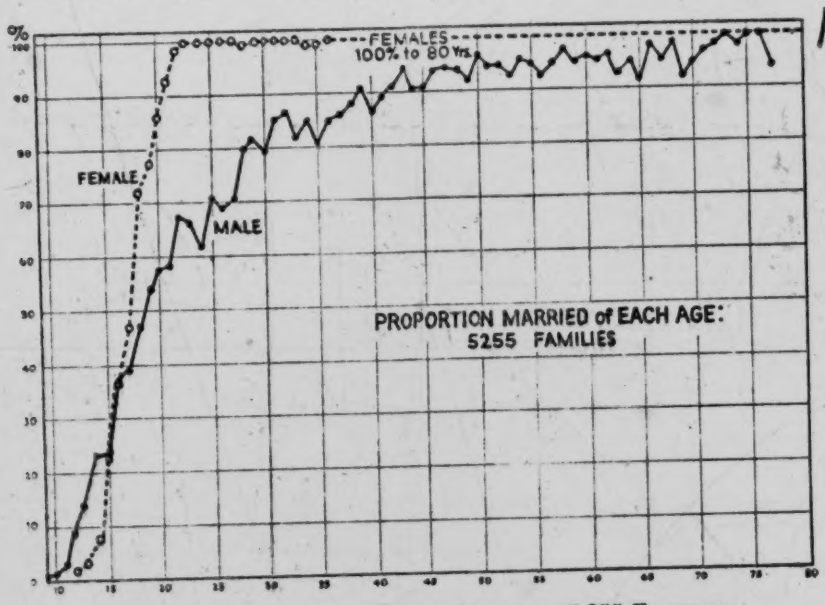

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12.

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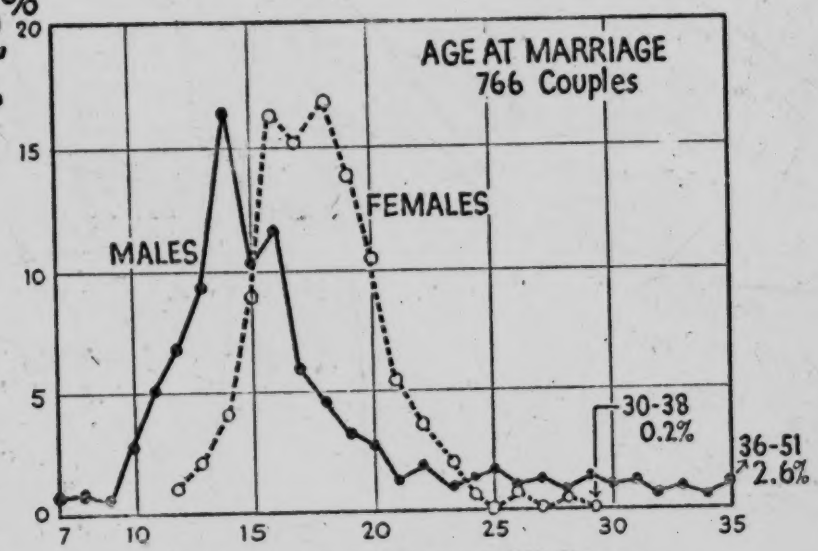

FIGURE 10. AGE AT MARRIAGE, 766 COUPLES

of families, the largest number of girls were married when they were 18.

A large proportion of the boys were married before they were 15, but the males as a group did not marry early as universally as the females. Of those who were over 21 years of age 13.7 per cent were still single. One hundred per cent of the 23 year old females were married, but only 66.3 per cent of the males. Not until they were 39 years of age were 90 per cent of the males married. Above 50 years of age the proportion was generally about 95 per cent married. Only in three years in the seventies were 100 per cent of the males married.

In the United States, 14.3 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females between 35 and 44 years of age were single. For those between 55 and 64 the figures were males 10.1 per cent, females 8.9 per cent.[10]

The figures for the 515 families do not give the ages of the married and unmarried, but a special study was made of the "age at marriage" of 766 couples in those families. The group included no second marriages. For the men the age at marriage ranged from seven to 51, for the women from 12 to 38. The average age was men 17.2 and women

10. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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17.7. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of boys, almost one in six, were married when they were 14 years old. Almost one-half, 47.5 per cent, were married in the four years from 13 through 16, and almost two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, in the three years from 14 through 16. Sixteen per cent were under 13 years of age and just over 10 per cent were over 25.

The largest number of girls, 16.8 per cent, were married when they were 18, the next largest group, 16.1 per cent, when they were 16 years old. The three years from 16 through 18 included 48.2 per cent of the girls. Eight girls were married when they were 12 and 16 when they were 13 years old. Fourteen and one-half per cent were married before they were 16, but only 7.2 per cent when they were over 21 and less than 2 per cent when they were more than 23 years of age.

A very similar story is told by a study made of 1,843 men and 2,059 women living in three market towns. The average age at marriage was the same for the girls, 17.7, but it was 1.5 years higher for the boys, 18.6. Again, the largest number of boys were married at 14 and the largest number of girls at 18. Thirty-four per cent of the boys were married when they were from 13 to 16 years of age and 29.5 per cent in the three years from 14 through 16. The 9.8 per cent who were under 13 were a smaller proportion than in the 515 families. There was a larger proportion in the higher ages, 27.1 per cent in the 17 through 21 group and 17.1 per cent in the over 25 group.

Fifty-eight per cent of the girls were from 16 to 18 years old when they were married. One in eight was married before she was 16, 6.5 per cent after they were 22, but only 2.7 per cent after they had reached 24 years of age.

The influence of the family's economic situation on the age at marriage is very clearly shown when the 766 couples in the 515 families are divided into three groups according to the amount of land owned by their families, under 50 mu, 50–99 mu, and 100 mu and over. Figure 11 shows that in all three groups 14 was the most popular age for the boys and 18 for the girls. However, the average age for the girls marrying into the families with 50 or more mu of land was a full year less than for those marrying into families with less than 50 mu, 16.8 as compared with 17.8. For the boys the difference was much more marked. Their average age at marriage was 18.4 for the families with less than 50 mu. It dropped to 15.6 in the 50 to 99 mu group and to the surprisingly low

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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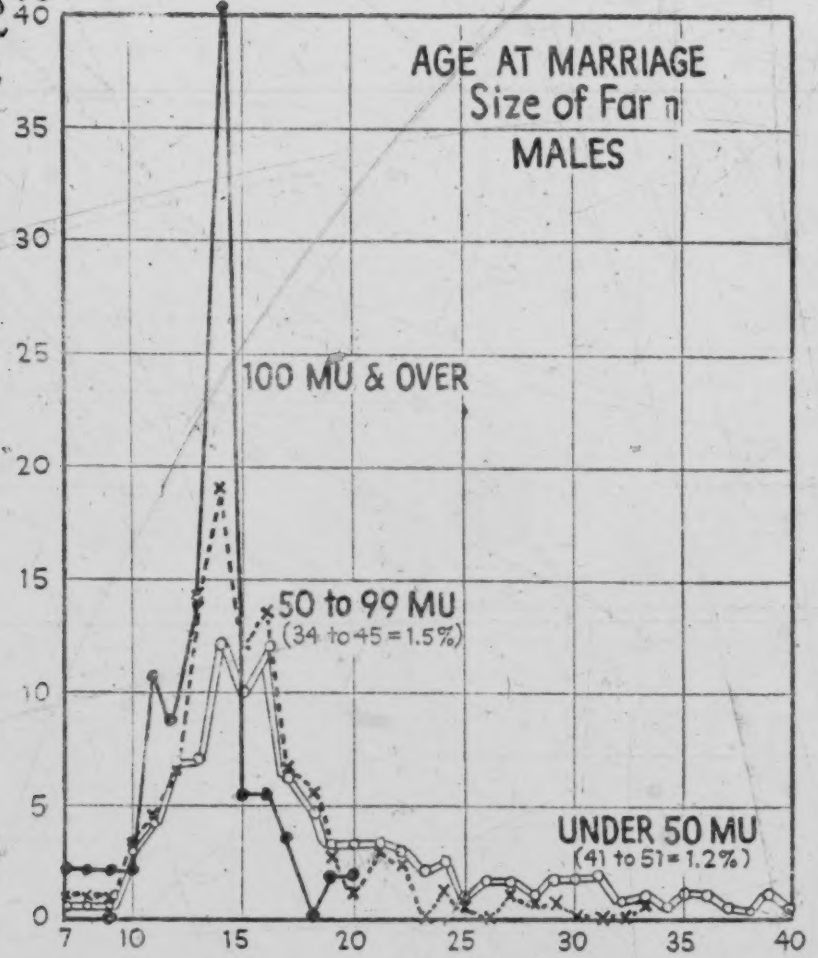

FIGURE 11A. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: MALES

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . . AF12 North China AF12

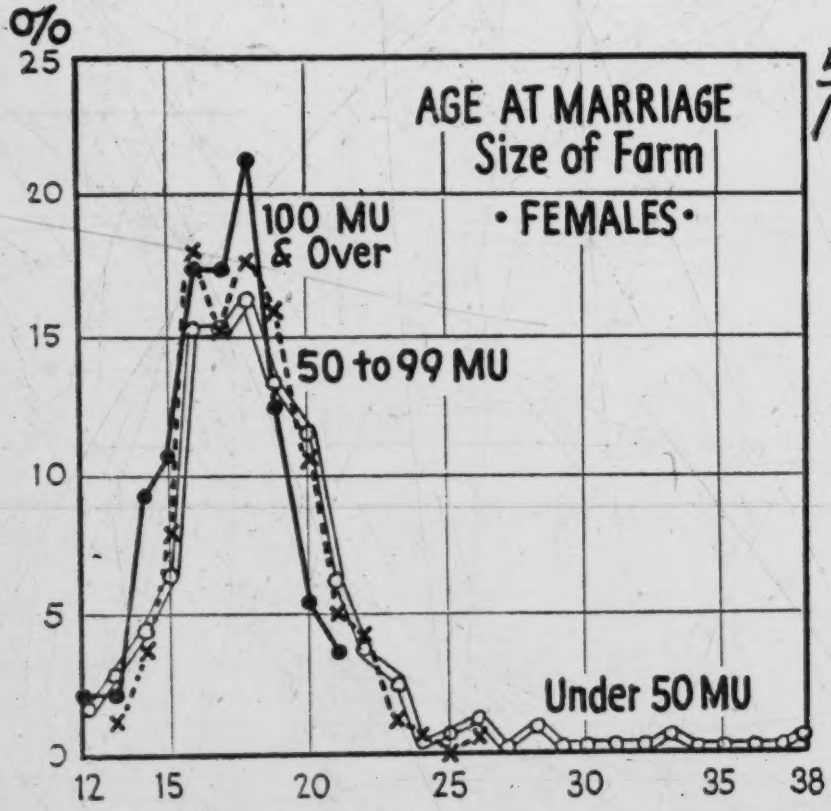

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FIGURE 11B. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: FEMALES

average of 13.2 ... the families with 100 mu or over. The youngest age at marriage was seven for the males and 12 for the females. The oldest age was 51 for the males and 38 for the females.

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The following figures, giving in summary form the proportions of the males and females in the 766 couples who were married before they had attained given ages, show how the age at marriage varied for the sexes and how it was affected by the economic status of the family. The effect was very striking for the boys, less so, but still very noticeable, for the girls.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Size of Farm	Under 13	Under 15	Under 18	Over 22	Total No. of Couples
		Males			
Under 50 mu	14.7	33.3	61.0	20.3	490
50–99 mu	15.6	48.9	80.7	5.2	219
100 mu and over	26.3	80.5	94.6	1.8	57
Total	15.8	41.4	69.3	14.6	766
		Females			*16–20*
Under 50 mu	1.4	8.6	44.9	4.8	60.7
50–99 mu		4.5	45.1	1.9	76.7
100 mu and over	1.8	12.4	57.8	0.0	73.7
Total	1.0	7.8	46.0	3.7	72.6

The outstanding figures are those showing that while only one-third of the males in the couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land were married before they were 15 years old, the proportion was 80.5 per cent in the families with 100 mu or more. In the latter group 40 per cent of the males were married when they were 14 years of age.

The lower income families often cannot help delaying their son's marriage when faced with the cost of the wedding celebration and the problem of feeding another "mouth." In some of the lower income families in Peking the expenditures for a wedding often amounted to four or five months' income.[11]

It will be noted that nearly three-quarters of the girls were between 16 and 20 years old when they were married. Detailed figures are given in Table 8.

The influence of the family's economic status is also shown in the distribution of the 766 couple study. The average was 1.2 couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land, 2.7 in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 3.2 in the group with 100 mu and over.

582 Groups were working in Ting Hsien to reform the marriage customs. Hence, at the time of our study, the age at marriage probably was higher than it had been some years earlier and it has probably gone up since then. The Customs Improvement Club of Chai Ch'eng attempted to set the minimum age as 20 for boys and 16 for girls.

11. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 6. AGE AND SEX
(per cent in five-year age groups)

	5,255 Families			515 Families			North China[1]	U.S.[2]
Age	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
Under 5	12.4	12.3	12.5	15.2	13.6	17.0	12.5	9.3
5–9	10.8	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.3	9.7	11.5	10.3
10–14	9.9	10.1	9.6	10.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.8
15–19	8.5	8.8	8.2	9.8	11.0	8.6	10.3	9.4
20–24	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.1	8.7	7.4	7.4	8.9
25–29	7.4	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.5	7.5	5.5	8.0
30–34	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.9	6.9	7.4
35–39	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	7.3	7.5
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	6.5
45–49	6.0	5.9	6.2	5.9	5.7	6.0	4.9	5.7
50–54	4.4	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.2	3.9	4.7	4.9
55–59	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.5	4.2	3.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.1
65–69	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.6	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.6
75–79	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
80–84	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4
85 and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	–	–	–	0.1	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total persons		15,780	14,862		1,835	1,736		

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*. [2] U.S. Census, 1930.

TABLE 7. AGE AT MARRIAGE

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	515 Families 766 Couples		3 Market Towns 1,843 2,059	
Age	Males	Females	Males	Females
Under 10	1.3	–	0.7	–
10	2.8	–	1.1	–
11	5.0	–	3.1	–
12	6.7	1.0	5.0	0.8
13	9.4	2.1	4.9	1.8
14	16.2	4.6	11.9	4.9
15	10.2	6.9	6.7	5.0
16	11.8	16.1	10.8	23.3
17	5.9	15.3	7.0	10.0
18	4.7	16.8	6.4	24.5

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12.

(TABLE 7 CONTINUED)

Age	515 Families 766 Couples Males	Females	3 Market Towns 1,843 Males	2,039 Females
19	3.1	13.8	6.0	7.2
20	2.6	10.6	4.7	11.6
21	3.0	5.6	3.7	4.4
22	2.7	3.5	2.9	2.6
23–25	3.9	2.4	7.9	2.3
26–28	2.9	1.1	6.7	0.8
29–31	3.4	–	4.3	0.5
32–34	1.0	0.1	2.4	0.2
35 and over	3.4	0.1	3.8	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM (766 couples in 515 families)

Age	Under 50 Mu Male	Female	50–99 Mu Male	Female	100 Mu and over Male	Female
Under 10	0.8	–	1.4	–	5.3	–
10	2.9	–	3.2	–	1.8	–
11	4.5	–	4.6	–	10.4	–
12	6.5	1.4	6.4	–	8.8	1.8
13	6.7	2.7	14.1	0.9	14.0	1.8
14	12.0	4.5	19.2	3.6	40.2	8.8
15	10.0	6.1	11.8	7.8	5.3	10.4
16	11.7	15.1	13.6	17.8	5.3	17.5
17	5.9	15.1	6.4	15.0	3.5	17.5
18	4.9	16.1	5.5	17.4	–	21.1
19	3.5	13.1	2.7	16.0	1.8	12.3
20	3.5	11.3	0.9	10.5	1.8	5.3
21	3.5	6.1	2.7	5.0	–	3.5
22	3.3	3.7	2.3	4.1	–	–
23–25	5.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	1.8	–
26–28	3.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	–	–
29–31	5.0	–	0.5	–	–	–
32–34	1.4	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
35 and over	4.8	0.2	1.4	–	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Couples	490		219		57	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married.

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges.

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity.

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs.

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means.

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially.

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

munity and we may expect to get a marriage rate which is very near to the real rate. 162

Among the 1819 living in the families we found only nine married pairs, or eighteen single persons married during the year, a rate of about 9.9 per 1000. Marriages in a store population cannot be counted in pairs, as only husbands usually work in the stores, the wives remaining in their native places. In Ching Ho there were eight persons married nuring the current year, a rate of 13.1 per 1000. Averaging the total store and family population, we have a marriage rate of 10.7 per 1000.

6. Age at Marriage.

In the minds of both Chinese and foreigners the system of early marriages has long been considered as a great curse to China, and the general impression has been that most Chinese people are married at about the age of 16 years. A glance at the following table will show the fallacy of such generalizations. Although a number of persons have been married at 16 years, it will be seen that it is neither the usual nor the average age. As we can see from the table, the modal age was 19 years, and the average for all the persons studied was 20 years. 582 162

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIALCGICAL ANALYSIS

TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE AGE[1]

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AGE PERIODS	TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
	NO.	%		
11	2	0.2	2	0
12	6	0.5	3	3
13	11	0.9	4	7
14	55	4.5	27	28
15	63	5.1	31	32
16	148	12.1	75	73
17	96	7.8	57	39
18	150	12.3	84	66
19	163	13.3	95	68
20	99	8.1	53	46
21	68	5.6	46	22
22	66	5.4	38	28
23	54	4.4	40	14
24	71	5.8	51	20
25	31	2.5	22	9
26	35	2.8	22	13
27	31	2.5	25	6
28	13	1.1	12	1
29	17	1.4	11	6
30-34	25	2.0	20	5
35-29	11	0.9	6	5
40-	9	0.7	6	3
Total	1,224	100.0	730	494

1. Inclndes only these who marriage age has reported.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Another popular prevailing impression is that boys marry at an even earlier age than girls, but our enquires in Ching Ho have not supperted this hypothesis. While there is not a great difference, yet the figures show thot the average age of men at marriage has been 20.3, while that for girls has been 19.3.

7. Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife.

Another interesting study has been that of the comparative ages of husband and wife. It is usually thought that, while in Western countries the wife is younger than the husband, the reverse is the case in China, but in the 697 cases where we were able to make a study we found a much larger percentage of cases where the husband was older then wife.

TABLE XVIII SENIORITY OF HYSBAND AND WIFE

SENIORITY	NO. OF CASES	%
Husbadd Older	427	61.4
Wife older	177	25.4
Same age	93	13.2
Total	697	100.0

In examining the differences in years we found some interesting results. Glancing over the following table the first thing that strikes us is the much greater age of husbands. No wife is more than eight years older than her husband, while there are five cases where husbands are 16 years older than their wives. The average years of seniority in the case of wives is only 2.4 years as against 4.8 years in the case of husbands.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

TABLE XIX DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SENIORITY

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YERBS OF SENIORITY	SENIOR HUSBANDS	SENIOR WIVES
1	46	46
2	90	57
3	51	33
4	41	12
5	33	12
6	35	3
7	23	0
8	25	2
9	13	0
10	26	0
11	4	0
12	7	0
13	4	0
14	2	0
15	0	0
16	5	0
Years unknown	22	12
Total	427	177

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.